8: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1937
FQ5 Bemba FQ5
Bisa

614 group of immigrants arrived, the *Bena Ngoma*
616 (tree clan, that of the present Bisa chiefs of the district). They found the rain clan in possession,
184 and begged them to pray to the spirits of the land 'since they were the owners of the land'
173 and to bury their chiefs. The story ends, 'So 'the rain clan are the priests (*shimiapepo*) here 'to-day. They are the *Banungwe* of the woman 'clan. They took their wives from them. They 'are also the *banungwe* of the tree clan.'

614 It is impossible to speak with certainty as to
616 the origin of the *Banungwe* relationship, but these living traditions as to the ritual interdependence and marriage exchanges of pairs of matrilineal lineage groups settled in one locality in the early days of the occupation of the country seem to throw out clues. Once the clan names, usually bestowed as we have seen, from some legend as to the split or amalgamation of two local groups, became linked in traditional linguistic forms (praise-names, ceremonial utterances, formalized jokes, etc.), as complementary or hostile, the extension of the *banungwe* concept to the classification of other clan objects would follow readily. I have no evidence that this process took place in the past, but I have seen
614 it occurring to-day. A native, asked the *banungwe*
616 of such and such a clan, gives one or two pairs automatically, and these are invariably among
811 the oldest clans, with well-known legends of origin and local centres. Then he stops to think and adds more names, and then proceeds to argue with himself, for instance, that if iron is

[p. 193(A)]

8: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1937
FQ5 Bemba FQ5

614 hostile to the elephant, it must be the enemy
of the leopard, the wild pig or the lion too.
616 This process of extension of the term *banungwe*
● [811] to all clans named after objects considered
complementary or hostile in their nature is seen
most strikingly in the case of educated Bemba,
who like to make careful lists of all the possible
pairs of clans and reach a far greater number
than those supplied by an illiterate old native.
The fact that the grouping of opposite clans no
longer regulates marriage or is based on local
residence, but is limited to ceremonial functions
and a pleasant teasing form of intercourse, makes
this apparently arbitrary classification easier.
The fact that it is in the name of the *mukoa*
object, together with the traditional fiction of
descent in legal affiliation which forms the
distinguishing mark of Bemba clan membership
rather than local association and ownership of
land or property, material or immaterial, also
makes it comprehensible that the *banungwe*
concept should be readily extended to other
clans beyond those first historically paired.
Whether a similar process of extension of the
paired clan idea took place in the past as each
new lineage group grew and became differentiated,
it is impossible to know, but it is worth inquiring
whether, in contiguous areas where reciprocal clan
relationships are found, there are also legends of
origin of paired lineage groups, locally associated,
with the one dependent on the other to secure
the blessings of the Tutelary deities attached to
the land.

[p. 193(B)]

9. Richards E-5 (1930-1934) 1935 FQ5 Bemba FQ5

man, where it would be found sticking upright on the mound in the morning full of grave-earth, and hence the injured spirit of the dead.

Some of the other objects the natives condemned in spite of all evidence of common sense, so much had they made up their minds already as to the horrors they expected to find. The parietal bone of a monkey recently shot in a garden raid was sworn to be that of a baby. The skull of a vulture with its characteristic beak was identified as an owl by natives who are good naturalists, since sorcerers are known to prowl at night with owl-like birds (*ntitimusi*) to steal grain from the granaries of others. A polished bit of wood was dubbed the wrist-bone of a lion by one of the best-known hunters in the district. Lastly, the two horns which raised the greatest outcry were *fimango*, or horns specially prepared by the *nganga* of a chief in old days to lay the spirits of sorcerers burnt after death by the *mwafi* poison ordeal; that is to say, horns which are specially made to protect people against witchcraft. These objects, filled with medicines to attract evil spirits, the ends netted in and covered with red dye and black beads for the same purpose, acted, as it were, as lightning conductors, kept outside a chief's village to attract the evil spirits to the ground. *Fimango* were also used in the most important form of divination known as '*kutinta*' practised by the *nganga* of the chief. The main protection of the native against witchcraft in the old days was therefore cheerfully discarded on the heap at the bidding of a couple of quacks! In fact the *Bamucapi* depended a good deal for their effects on the ignorance of the young of the use of Bemba magic. Their own ignorance on the subject, and their lack of knowledge of the language, was of no account, since they defended the throwing away of a charm admittedly harmless by declaring it contained a *cifimba* unseen to the ordinary man.

Our examination of a typical heap of horns has therefore shown us that only 11 out of 135 horns were admitted by every one to be undeniably bad destructive magic, that is to say, prepared for the injury of others. For the rest, 2 were actually protective magic intended to save the whole community against witchcraft, while the majority were containers of medicine, some curative, and some mere charms for success, dangerous only in so far as success could be considered to be obtained at the expense of others. It would appear thus to be part of the skill of the *Bamucapi* to create the sense of danger from which they